

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 197652

FOLLOWING REPEAT PARIS 24451 ACTION SECSTATE
INFO BELGRADE USUN NY AUG 03.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 24451

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, UN, FR

SUBJECT: FRENCH VIEWS ON NAM

REF: (A) STATE 187385, (B) STATE 178240

1. SUMMARY: FRENCH VIEWS ON THE NAM ARE VERY
CLOSE TO OURS. QUAI BELIEVES BELGRADE MEETING WAS A
MODEST DEFEAT FOR CUBA AND SHOWED THAT NAM IS DEEPLY
DIVIDED. WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING A USG ANALYSIS
OF BELGRADE MEETING TO PASS ON TO QUAI. END SUMMARY.

2. AS INSTRUCTED REFTTEL (A), WE EXCHANGED VIEWS ON NON-
ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM) WITH QUAI ACTING DIRECTOR FOR UN
AND MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS (OURMET) ON AUGUST 3. WE PRO-
VIDED OURMET WITH GIST OF TALKING POINTS CONTAINED IN
PARA 10 OF REF (B), AND SAID WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN
FRENCH VIEWS, ESPECIALLY REGARDING CUBAN ROLE IN NAM.
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3. OURMET SAID FRENCH POLICY ON THE NAM CLOSELY PARAL-
LELS VIEWS EXPRESSED IN OUR TALKING POINTS. HE NOTED
THAT OUR FIRST TALKING POINT VIRTUALLY SETS OUT THE
FRENCH ATTITUDE: A GENUINELY NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT CAN EN-
HANCE THE BALANCE BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS AND THUS
CONTRIBUTE TO WORLD PEACE AND STABILITY. HE SAID THAT

FRENCH HAD SENT INSTRUCTIONS TO THEIR EMBASSIES TO MAKE POINTS SOMEWHAT SIMILAR TO OURS IN NON-ALIGNED CAPITALS ("MAINLY FRANCOPHONE ONES") PRIOR TO THE BELGRADE MEETING OF THE NON-ALIGNED COORDINATING BUREAU, AND ADDED THAT FONMIN DE GUIRINGAUD IS PERSONALLY INTERESTED IN THE NAM AND FOLLOWS IT CLOSELY.

4. OURMET SAID FRENCH WERE NOW IN THE PROCESS OF ANALYZING THE RESULTS OF THE BELGRADE MEETING. ONE OF OURMET'S DEPUTIES WENT TO BELGRADE TO ASSIST IN REPORTING, BUT ACCESS TO DELEGATES PROVED DIFFICULT AND THE FRENCH ARE STILL PIECING TOGETHER WHAT ACTUALLY TOOK PLACE FROM ACCOUNTS THEY ARE RECEIVING FROM VARIOUS SOURCES. THUS FAR THE FRENCH HAVE HEARD CONFLICTING JUDGMENTS AS TO WHETHER THE MEETING WAS A SUCCESS OR A FAILURE FOR CUBA. THE QUAI HAS THEREFORE NOT YET REACHED FINAL CONCLUSIONS ON THE BELGRADE MEETING, AND WOULD BE INTERESTED TO HAVE OUR APPRAISAL WHEN IT IS AVAILABLE.

5. QUAI'S INITIAL CONCLUSIONS ARE THAT BELGRADE WAS A MODEST FAILURE FOR THE CUBANS. ACCORDING TO OURMET, ELEVEN NON-ALIGNED STATES TOOK FORMAL POSITIONS AGAINST CUBA, AND THIRTY SPOKE AGAINST CUBA'S AFRICAN ROLE IN THEIR SPEECHES. OURMET THOUGHT THIS REPRESENTED A HIGH PERCENTAGE OF THE NAM, AND RESULTED FROM AN INCREASINGLY CONFIDENTIAL

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ACTIVE, AGGRESSIVE ROLE BY THE MODERATES. THE MODERATES HAD NOT SUCCEEDED IN AFFECTING THE HOLDING OF THE NAM SUMMIT IN HAVANA, BUT THIS HAD NEVER BEEN IN THE CARDS BECAUSE THE DECISION ON THE SUMMIT HAD BEEN TAKEN BY HEADS OF GOVERNMENT AND COULD NOT BE OVERRULED BY A MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS. THE FACT THAT THE QUESTION WAS RAISED SERIOUSLY WAS NEVERTHELESS A DEMONSTRATION OF THE QUESTIONING WHICH HAS BEEN GOING ON OVER CUBA'S ROLE. THE MODERATES ALSO FAILED IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO EXPAND THE COORDINATING BUREAU AND THUS ESTABLISH A BETTER CONTROL OVER CUBAN ACTIVITIES, BUT CUBA FAILED IN ITS ATTEMPT TO GIVE MORE POWER TO THE COORDINATING BUREAU. THE COMPROMISE RESULT -- THAT COORDINATING BUREAU MEETINGS SHOULD BE OPEN TO OTHER NAM MEMBERS -- IS A MODEST SUCCESS FOR THE MODERATES, SINCE THEY WILL BE BETTER ABLE TO OBSERVE AND "KEEP THEM HONEST."

6. OURMET SAID ONE INTERESTING ASPECT OF NAM ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CUBANS IS THAT THEY ARE APPARENTLY LESS BOTHERED BY CUBA'S AFRICAN ACTIVITIES THAN THEY ARE BY ITS EFFORTS TO DIVIDE THE NON-ALIGNED THEMSELVES. THE

AFRICAN ROLE CAN BE JUSTIFIED, IN THE EYES OF MANY NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, ON THE BASIS OF INVITATIONS FROM THE AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED, AND THE PERCEPTION OF AN OVERRIDING NEED TO FIGHT AGAINST WESTERN IMPERIALISM. BUT ALMOST ALL THE NON-ALIGNED TAKE A VERY DIM VIEW OF CUBAN ATTEMPTS TO SET ONE NAM MEMBER AGAINST ANOTHER OR TO EXACERBATE EXISTING QUARRELS AMONG THE NAM (E.G., CAMBODIA VERSUS VIETNAM). IF ANYTHING, THE FRENCH THINK THIS ASPECT MAY HAVE A MORE DELETERIOUS EFFECT ON THE CUBAN ROLE IN THE NAM THAN ITS AFRICAN INTERVENTIONS.

7. AS A FINAL CONCLUSION, OURMET SAID HE THOUGHT THE BELGRADE MEETING SHOWED THE NAM TO BE DEEPLY DIVIDED, CONFIDENTIAL

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AND THIS DIVISION, THOUGH IT MAY BE PAPERED OVER FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES, WILL PREVENT THE NAM FROM PLAYING A MAJOR ROLE IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

8. COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THE FRENCH WOULD WELCOME A CONTINUED EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH US ON THE NAM, AND TO THIS END WE WOULD LIKE TO RESPOND TO OURMET'S REQUEST FOR OUR ANALYSIS OF THE BELGRADE MEETING. WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING SOME ANALYTICAL MATERIAL WE CAN PASS ON TO HIM WHENEVER IT MAY BE AVAILABLE.

HARTMAN

UNQUOTE VANCE

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